

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00

EB-07 FRB-03 CIEP-01 STR-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 SAM-01

OMB-01 AF-06 NEA-09 SAB-01 BIB-01 EA-06 MC-01 NIC-01

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R 231140Z JAN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9706

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4918

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0347

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, PO

SUBJ: SOARES VISITS TO MOSCOW, BUCHAREST, AND BELGRADE

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

REF: (A) MOSCOW 0231; (B) BUCHAREST 093

BEGIN SUMMARY: PORTUGUESE PERMREP DE FREITAS CRUZ BRIEFED NAD  
JAN 22 ON FOREIGN MINISTER SOARES' VISITS TO MOSCOW (JAN 2-3),  
BUCHAREST (JAN 3-6), AND BELGRADE (JAN 6-8). REPORT WENT INTO  
CONSIDERABLE DETAIL AND SUPPORTED IMPRESSION, CONVEYED IN REFTELS,  
THAT TRIP DID NOT YIELD ANY DRAMATIC RESULTS. DE FREITAS CRUZ  
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STRESSED HIS MINISTER'S STATEMENT TO SOVIETS THAT PORTUGAL REMAINS  
A MEMBER OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. GROMYKO REPORTEDLY WENT OUT OF  
HIS WAY TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.  
OTHER PERMREPS WELCOMED PORTUGUESE BRIEFING AND URTED DE FREITAS

CRUZ TO CONTINUE THIS PRACTICE. END SUMMARY:

1. MOSCOW. READING FROM LENGTHY REPORT WHICH HE HAD JUST RECEIVED, DE FREITAS CRUZ RECOUNTED CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOARES AND GROMYKO. SOARES BRIEFED THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ON THE PORTUGUESE INTERNAL SITUATION, AN ANALYSIS WHICH DE FREITAS CRUZ SAID CLOSELY FOLLOWED WHAT PORTUGUESE PERMREP HAD INFORMALLY TOLD HIS ALLIANCE COLLEAGUES ON JANUARY 21 (SEPTEL). GROMYKO INQUIRED ABOUT THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES OF THE AFM PROGRAM. SOARES REPLIED THAT THE AFM'S EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PROGRAM REPRESENTED THE MAXIMUM THAT COULD BE ACHIEVED AT PRESENT, THOUGH CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE AFM WANTED TO GO FURTHER. IN THE LONG TERM, SOARES SAID, PORTUGAL IS MOVING TOWARD "SOCIALISM IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT," AND CITED THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE. (FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE SHARPLY QUESTIONED APTNESS OF THIS COMPARISON.) GROMYKO REPLIED THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD FOLLOW ITS OWN PATH ALTHOUGH THIS DOES NOT PREVENT OTHER COUNTRIES FROM HARBORING SYMPATHIES.

2. IN RESPONSE TO SOARES' DESCRIPTION OF PORTUGAL'S DECOLONIZATION EFFORTS, GROMYKO OPINED THAT PORTUGAL COULD NOW EXPAND ITS CONTACTS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES. HE ADDED THAT PORTUGAL HAD ACQUIRED MUCH INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CAPITAL THROUGH DECOLONIZATION.

3. GROMYKO OPENED DISCUSSION OF PORTUGAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE EC BY SARCASTICALLY REFERRING TO THE COMMUNITY AS A "MASTODON." SOARES REPLIED THAT PORTUGAL WAS NOT READY FOR FULL EC MEMBERSHIP, WHICH WOULD RISK "ECONOMIC COLONIZATION" AT THIS STAGE, BUT WAS SEEKING A RELATIONSHIP BASED ON ASSOCIATION. THE DUTCH AMBASSADOR ASKED DE FREITAS CRUZ TO DEFINE PORTUGUESE AIMS WITH REGARD TO THE EC MORE CLEARLY. THE PORTUGUESE PERMREP REPLIED THAT THE ULTIMATE AIM WAS FULL MEMBERSHIP AT A LATER DATE. HE COMMENTED THAT SOARES HAD APPARENTLY NOT MENTIONED THE OBJECTIVE OF FULL PORTUGUESE EC MEMBERSHIP TO GROMYKO.

4. GROMYKO TOLD SOARES HE WOULD NOT COMMENT ON PORTUGAL'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EC, BUT NOTED THAT A NON-DISCRIMINATORY RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE BEST. THE USSR IS REALISTIC AND TAKES ACCOUNT OF THE EC'S CONFIDENTIAL

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EXISTENCE. ON EC-COMECON CONTACTS, NOTHING CONCRETE HAD YET RESULTED BUT SOMETHING MIGHT DEVELOP IN TIME. ANY TIES BETWEEN THE EC AND COMECON WOULD NOT INFRINGE ON SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL.

5. SOARES REPORTEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF PORTUGUESE POLICY. HE ADMITTED TO GROMYKO THAT THE PRESENCE OF A COMMUNIST MINISTER IN THE GOVERNMENT HAD CREATED PROBLEMS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FOR PORTUGAL, IN PARTICULAR WITH REGARD TO NPG MEMBERSHIP. HE MAINTAINED, HOWEVER, THAT PORTUGAL'S

NATO PARTNERS ACCEPTED LISBON'S POSITION. SOARES ADDED THAT PORTUGAL WANTS TO BE A FACTOR FOR PEACE AND MODERATION IN EUROPE.

6. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, SOARES TOLD GROMYKO THAT PORTUGAL SEEKS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS AND HAD NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. WHILE PORTUGAL FAVORS THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL, IT GIVES PRIORITY TO ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND SOARES SUGGESTED TO GROMYKO THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN HELPING PORTUGAL NORMALIZE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

7. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, GROMYKO SAID THAT UNLESS THE PROBLEMS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE PALESTINIANS WERE SOLVED, THE AREA WOULD REMAIN A POWDER KEG. A NEW MIDDLE EAST WAR WOULD HAVE EVEN MORE SERIOUS EFFECTS THAN THE LAST ONE AND WOULD REPRESENT A SETBACK FOR EVERYONE IN EUROPE. HE ADDED THAT PORTUGAL WOULD BE ABLE TO JUDGE FOR ITSELF THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT COULD CONTRIBUTE TO A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.

8. ON CSCE, GROMYKO STRESSED THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME. DESPITE SOME PROGRESS, A NUMBER OF POINTS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED AND THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER PARTICULARLY REFERRED TO CBM'S IN THIS REGARD. HE COMMENTED IRONICALLY THAT SOME DELEGATIONS WERE TRYING TO COMPARE MILITARY MANEUVERS BY LUXEMBOURG WITH THOSE OF THE USSR. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE THE SAME CRITERIA FOR BOTH LARGE AND SMALL COUNTRIES AND IF ONE TRIED TO ACHIEVE SUCH AN AIM, THE RESULT WOULD BE TO REDUCE RATHER THAN BUILD CONFIDENCE. GROMYKO ADDED THAT THE USSR WOULD TAKE A REASONABLE ATTITUDE ON CBM'S.

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R 231140Z JAN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9707

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4919

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MADRID 609

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA

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9. ALTHOUGH NOT ON THE AGENDA, GROMYKO EMPHASIZED TO SOARES THE GREAT IMPORTANCE MOSCOW ATTACHES TO RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HE SAID THAT BREZHNEV AND THE REST OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WOULD DO THEIR

UTMOST TO REACH AGREEMENTS WITH WASHINGTON AND THAT THESE WOULD NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. GROMYKO SPOKE POSITIVELY ABOUT RELATIONS WITH FRANCE, THE FRG, AND ITALY, BUT INDICATED TO SOARES THAT THESE WERE OF MORE ECONOMIC THAN POLITICAL INTEREST TO MOSCOW.

10. RE CHINA, DE FREITAS CRUZ SAID SOARES HAD INFORMED THE SOVIET MINISTER THAT LISBON HAD ASKED PEKING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. THIS HAD BEEN DONE "IN THE UN SETUP" CONFIDENTIAL

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BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO "DIRECT CONTACT" WITH THE CHINESE. THE PORTUGUESE IMPRESSION AS OF JAN 2 WAS THAT CHINA DID NOT WANT TO TAKE A DECISION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEFORE THE ANGOLAN PROBLEM WAS SOLVED. GROMYKO REPORTEDLY DID NOT MENTION CHINA TO HIS PORTUGUESE COUNTERPART.

11. DANISH PERMREP SVART ASKED IF SOARES HAD MET WITH ANY SOVIET LEADERS BESIDES GROMYKO. DE FREITAS CRUZ REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE BUT, IN CONTRAST TO THE REPORT IN REF A, HE HAD NO EXPLANATION FOR WHY THE SOVIETS HAD NOT ARRANGED THE CUSTOMARY MEETING WITH ONE OF THEIR THREE TOP LEADERS.

12. BUCHAREST. ACCORDING TO DE FREITAS CRUZ' ACCOUNT, THE BUCHAREST TALKS CONCENTRATED ON CSCE, WITH THE ROMANIANS PRESENTING THEIR USUAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP MACHINERY. THEY ASKED FOR PORTUGUESE SUPPORT ON THIS ISSUE AND SOARES REPORTEDLY REPLIED HE WOULD STUDY THE ROMANIAN POSITION.

13. BELGRADE. THE YUGOSLAVS SUGGESTED TO SOARES FURTHER TALKS ON A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT AND THE CREATION OF A MIXED COMMISSION TO STUDY POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS IN OTHER FIELDS. SOARES INDICATED THAT PORTUGAL WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE A YUGOSLAV DELEGATION IN LATE JAN OR EARLY FEB TO DISCUSS TRADE MATTERS. HE ALSO TOLD THE YUGOSLAVS THAT PORTUGAL FAVORED GREATER COOPERATION, BUT THAT IN THE CSCE CONTEXT PORTUGAL WAS NOT A NEUTRAL. THE YUGOSLAVS SUGGESTED DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY COOPERATION, AND DE FREITAS CRUZ SPECULATED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN COOPERATION IN THE PRODUCTION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND ARMS. ON THIS QUESTION, SOARES TOLD THE YUGOSLAVS HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH HIS MILITARY COLLEAGUES.

14. SEVERAL PERMREPS CONGRATULATED DE FREITAS CRUZ ON HIS PRESENTA-

TION AND HOPED THAT IT WOULD LEAD TO MORE PORTUGUESE BRIEFINGS TO THE COUNCIL IN THE FUTURE. PORTUGUESE PERMREP REPLIED HE SHARED THIS HOPE AND WOULD TRY TO OBTAIN A REPORT FOR POLADS ON POLISH FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK'S RECENT LISBON VISIT. BRUCE

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BELGRADE  
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GENEVA

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